

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT MALCOLM W. BROWNE BY-LINER NEW YORK
TIMES AUGUST 6 HEADED "BELGRADE PARLEY: FEW HOPES."

2. SATISFIED WITH HAVING AT LEAST DISPOSED OF THE MOUNTAIN
OF PROCEDURAL OBSTACLES THEY THEMSELVES CREATED DURING THE
PAST TWO MONTHS, DELEGATES OF 34 NATIONS AND THE VATICAN
HAVE DECLARED THEMSELVES READY TO TALK ABOUT SECURITY, CO-
OPERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT MANY OF THE INTENDED
BENEFICIARIES OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECT OF THE FORTH-COMING
CONFERENCE HAVE LONG SINCE BECOME DUBIOUS THAT ANY RELIEF
WILL RESULT.

3. THE PREPARATORY PHASE OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE ON
EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION, ATTENDED BY 32 EUROPEAN
NATIONS, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, CLOSED TODAY, AS MUCH
BECAUSE THE OFFICIAL INTERPRETERS ARE GOING ON VACATION AS
FOR ANY OTHER REASON.

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4. THROUGHOUT THE CONFERENCE THERE HAS BEEN AN IMPRESSION
OF IMMENSE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE BRAND-NEW FLAG-BEDECKED
SAVA CONFERENCE CENTER HERE AND THE PERSONAL TRAGEDIES OF
POLITICAL PERSECUTION THAT THE CONFERENCE IS PARTLY IN-
TENDEd TO ALLEVIATE. A SYSTEM OF REMOTE SENSING DEVICES,

SPECIAL TRAFFIC LIGHTS IN THE VICINTIY OF THE CENTER AND A CORPS OF TESTY SECURITY GUARDS EFFECTIVELY KEPT THE OUTER WORLD AWAY FROM THE AIR-CONDITIONED CHAMBER.

5. FOR WEEKS ON END SPEECHES DRONED ON WITH NO PROGRESS TOWARD AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA FOR THE FULL MEETING THIS FALL. AS TIME RAN SHORT A MINOR CRISIS AROSE DURING A SPECIAL CAUCUS CALLED BY THE RUSSIANS, AMERICANS AND A FEW OTHER DELEGATIONS TO RESOLVE A MAJOR OBSTACLE. THE CHIEF SOVIET DELEGATE, YULI M. VORONTSOV, STUNNED HIS COLLEAGUES WITH AN ANGRY THREAT TO DIG IN HIS HEELS EVEN HARDER. HIS TONE WAS PARTICULARLY IMPRESSIVE TO THOSE WHO KNEW HIM AS A NORMALLY GOOD-HUMORED AND SMOOTH DIPLOMAT WITH A FLUENT COMMAND OF ENGLISH.

6. BUT THE TENSION BROKE AND THE CRISIS PASSED AT A DINNER GIVEN TUESDAY BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO YUGOSLAVIA, VLADIMIR I. STEPANOV. THE GUESTS INCLUDED THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER, MR. VORONTSOV AND THE CHIEF AMERICAN DELEGATE TO THE CONFERENCE, ALBERT W. SHERER JR. OVER CAVIAR AND DRINKS THE SHARPNESS OF THE DISPUTE BLURRED SUFFICIENTLY THAT THE RUSSIANS REPORTEDLY AGREED TO THE IDEA OF LETTING THE FULL CONFERENCE RUN ON WITHOUT A FIXED CLOSING DATE.

7. THIS HAD BEEN THE MAIN STICKING POINT WITH THE AMERI-
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CANS, AND FROM THERE ON MATTERS RAPIDLY FELL INTO PLACE. THE FOLLOWING DAY THE DEADLOCK WAS FORMALLY BROKEN. TODAY MR. SHERER AND MR. VORONTSOV, FRIENDLY ADVERARIES IN MANY LONG DEBATES HERE AND IN GENEVA, POSED SMILING FOR PHOTOGRAPHERS. AS THE RUSSIAN TURNED TO LEAVE, MR. SHERER CALLED AFTER HIM: "SO LONG, YULI. HAVE A GOOD VACATION."

8. THE QUESTION REMAINED WHETHER ANYTING MORE MEANINGFUL THAN A SUCCESSION OF SPEECHES AND A CONVOLUTED AND AMBIG-
UOUS AGENDA PAPER HAD RESULTED. THE MEETING BEGAN JUNE 15 WITH CONSIDERABLE FANFARE AND EXPECTATIONS THROUGHOUT EU-
ROPE. AS THE FOLLOW-UP ASSESSMENT OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT MEETING TWO YEARS AGO, THE BELGRADE SESSION SEEMED TO HAVE SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO CAMPAIGNERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.

9. THE HELSINKI MEETING CAME ABOUT LARGELY BECAUSE OF YEARS OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO GET THE WEST TO RATIFY THE POST-
WORLD WAR II MAP OF EUROPE FORMALLY. IN THE COURSE OF THE WAR AND THEREAFTER, THE RUSSIANS SWALLOWED ENTIRE COUNTRIES
- LITHUANIA, LATVIA AND ESTONIA-AND ANNEXED LARGE PARTS

OF OTHERS-FINLAND, POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND RUMANIA.

10. IN EXCHANGE FOR FORMAL WESTERN RECOGNITION OF THOSE ACQUISITIONS, MOSCOW RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO INCLUDE OTHER MATTERS IN THE HELSINKI ACCORD, AMONG THEM A GENERAL STATEMENT SUPPORTING HUMAN RIGHTS, FREEDOM TO MOVE FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER AND A FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. FURTHER MORE, IT WAS PERSUADED TO AGREE TO THE BELGRADE SESSION OF THE 35 PARTICIPATANTS TO ASSESS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORD.

11. HUMAN-RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, WOULD-BE EMIGRANTS FROM THE SOVIET BLOC AND ORDINARY PEOPLE WITH GRIEVANCES SAW IN THE HELSINKI AND BELGRADE CONFERENCES AND OMBUDSMAN FROM OUT-UNCLASSIFIED

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SIDE. IF THE CONFERENCES COULD NOT FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE THE SYSTEM, THEY MIGHT AT LEAST SQUEEZE SOME CONCESSIONS FROM THE COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIPS INVOLVED.

12. IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA CHARTER 77, A DOCUMENT SAID TO HAVE BEEN SIGNED BY 700 OR MORE PEOPLE, INVOKED THE HELSINKI ACCORDS IN CALLING ON THE COMMUNIST LEADERS TO OBSERVE THE GUARANTEES OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROVIDED UNDER CZECH LAW. IN POLAND THE WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE CAMPAIGNED FOR THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS ON A SIMILAR THEME. AN AD HOC HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP WAS ORGANIZED BY DISSIDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION TO CHRONICLE ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS. DISSIDENTS IN RUMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, EAST GERMANY AND EVEN, ACCORDING TO SOME ACCOUNTS, BULGARIA CALLED FOR THE FREEING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND OTHER REFORMS.

13. THERE WERE ARRESTS AND OTHER FORMS OF OFFICIAL HARASSMENT AS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS REACTED AGAINST THE WAVE OF HELSINKI-INSPIRED DISSIDENCE. IN THE SOVIET UNION ONE OF THE ORGANIZERS OF THE MONITORING GROUP, ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, WAS REPORTEDLY CHARGED WITH TREASON, WHICH COULD RESULT IN A DEATH SENTENCE.

14. DESPITE OFFICIAL REPRESSION, THE BANNER OF HELSINKI AND BELGRADE CONTINUED TO FAN DISSIDENT ENTHUSIASM AND HOPE, AND PRONOUNCEMENTS BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND BROADCASTS BY AMERICAN-SPONSORED RADIO STATIONS ENHANCED SUCH FEELINGS. THE OPENING OF THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE CAM AS A DISAPPOINTMENT OF MANY, HOWEVER. SOME HUMAN-RIGHTS GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS MAILED URGENT AND SOMETIMES HEARTRENDING PERSONAL OR COLLECTIVE PETITIONS. BUT THE YUGOSLAV POLICE ARRESTED AND EXPELLED WOULD-BE DEMONSTRATORS AND THE PETITIONERS ABROAD CAME TO REALIZE THAT SENDING THEIR PLEAS UNCLASSIFIED

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TO "THE HONORABLE DELEGATIONS" IN BELGRADE WAS AKIN TO SENDING LETTERS TO SANTA CLAUS AT THE NORTH POLE.

15. AS THE WEEKS DRAGGED ON ONE CENTRAL ISSUE DIVIDED THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS: THE RUSSIANS WANTED A CONFERENCE WITH A CUTOFF DATE AND WITHOUT COMMITTEES TO DISCUSS EACH SCHEDULED TOPIC - SECURITY IN EUROPE, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA, HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUTURE MEETINGS. THE AMERICANS WANTED AN OPENENDED CONFERENCE WITH COMMITTEES SITTING SEPARATELY AS LONG AS NEEDED TO AIR THE KEY TOPICS THOROUGHLY.

16. IN THE LONG DEBATES AND CAUCUSES STARRING ROLES WERE PLAYED BY SPAIN, RUMANIA AND PORTUGAL AS WELL AS BY THE GREAT POWERS. VERBIAGE GREW EVER MORE COMPLICATED IN A PROLIFERATION OF PAPERS AND "NONPAPERS," WITH THEIR HYPHENS AND "OPTICAL SEPARATIONS OF CLAUSES," "APPENDED CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENTS" AND SO FORTH ALL INTENDED TO CONCEAL THE REAL ISSUES SO THAT A SEMBLANCE OF CONSENSUS COULD BE PRESENTED.

17. TWO DAYS BEFORE THE INTERPRETERS WERE TO GO ON VACATION, FORCING THE CONFERENCE TO HALT, THE SOVIET DELEGATE YIELDED ON THE OPEN-ENDED FALL MEETING. HE DID SO ALMOST NONCHALANTLY, AS IF THE PRECEDING WEEKS OF ARGUMENT AND STALEMATE HAD BEEN SPENT AS MUCH FOR KILLING TIME AS FOR ANYTHING ELSE.

18. CLEARLY, THE PROCEDURAL RED TAPE WILL NOT END WITH THE OPENING OF THE MEETING OCT. 4 DESPITE THE CALL AT HELSINKI FOR GREATER FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, ALL THE FALL SESSIONS, LIKE THOSE OF THE CURRENT PHASE, WILL BE CLOSED TO NEWSMEN. NEITHER THE HELSINKI ACCORD NOR THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP HAS ANY LEGALLY BINDING EFFECT ON PARTICIPANTS

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AND, IN ANY CASE, ALL RESOLUTIONS ARE WEAKENED BY A CONSENSUS RULE.

19. AT HELSINKI THE PRESTIGE OF THE ACCORD ("FINAL ACT") WAS TO SOME EXTENT ENHANCED BY THE PRESENCE OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OR RULING PARTIES, INCLUDING GERALD R. FORD AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV. AT BELGRADE THIS FALL THE DELEGATION

CHIEFS WILL BE ASSISTANT FOREIGN SECRETARIES OR THE EQUIVALENT, ADEQUATE FOR MECHANICAL DISCUSSION BUT HARDLY STRONG IN BARGAINING POWER.

20. SUMMING UP THE SITUATION, A SOVIET DISSIDENT SAID:
"THE HELSINKI PROVISIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WERE A GOOD IDEA,

AND THE WEST, PARTICULARLY PRESIDENT CARTER, MADE A WONDERFUL EFFORT. WE MUST ALL BE GRATEFUL AND HOPE THAT THE EFFORT WILL CONTINUE. BUT FROM NOW ON, I AM AFRAID, THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE, AT ANY RATE, WILL BE MOSTLY STERILE TALK. I DOUBT IF THE WHOLE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WILL REDUCE THE SENTENCE OF ANY POLITICAL PRISONER BY SO MUCH AS ONE DAY." CHRISTOPHER

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